# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

TOLITICAL MIGHER - Princips of Wales

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## PRINCESS OF WALES.

It is now more than a year since I ventured to assert, that the BOOK would come out. Recent events seem to be fast pressing on the day of its appearance; and, really, there does not appear to me to be any good reason, why the performances of PERCEVAL and his like should not be made matter of animadversion as well as the performances of other people. The PRINCESS OF WALES'S LETTER to her Husband, which Letter will be found below, challenges a full public disclosure of every thing connected with the INVES-TIGATION of 1806. It challenges this disclosure; and, besides this, it contains matter that seems to render further suppression wholly incompatible with preservation of character in her accusers.—She asserts, that she was completely acquitted; she asserts also, that the evidence against her was PROCURED BY SUBORNA-TION; she asserts, that these suborned Witnesses were PERJURED! --- Now, if these assertions be true, of what a character must have been the conduct of those, who set on foot, and urged on, the proceedings against her? And is it not just, is it not necessary, that the people of England should be rightly informed who those persons were? - It was my intention to enter, in this Number, upon a full discussion of the divers points relating to this matter, which have been mooted in the public prints. But, some AUTHENTIC AND IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS, appertaining to the subject, having been transmitted to me since the publication of the last Register; documents which have given

me an insight into many things, with regard to which I was before wholly in the dark; this being the case, I think it prudent, in a matter of such vast importance, to take another week to examine and to reflect, before I proceed to my intended discussion, which discussion, however, I will by no means blink, or slur over .- Indeed, from the very nature of the subject, it is impossible that it should remain undiscussed. From one stage to another the public prints have proceeded, till, at last, they explicitly state, that the Princess of Wales was, upon oath, accused of HAV-ING BEEN DELIVERED OF A MALE CHILD, and that the said child, under the name of "BILLY FAWCETT," is NOW ALIVE !- Reader, do you not see the importance, the fearful import, of such statements? - It has been disproved, they tell us. The accusation, they say, has been proved to be false; and, that, upon such proof, the Princess has been acquitted. Acquitted! How acquitted? Before what tribunal? What court of justice was she tried in? Who had the power to try her? Who had the legal authority to pronounce an acquittal? Was she confronted with her accusers? And where was this done? If such an accusation was preferred against her, an accusation amounting to a charge of high treason, if coupled with that of the child not being the child of her husband; if such an accusation was preferred, it ought to have been made before some magistrale, some magistrate known to the laws; and it could be legally entertained by no other person or persons. - But, I am departing from my intention. I will wait with all the patience I am master of till

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readers to believe, that I shall state nothing from myself of the truth of which I am not quite certain.

Copy of a Letter from Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent:—

"SIR,-It is with great reductance that I presume to obtrude myself upon your Royal Highness, and to solicit your attention to matters which may, at first, appear rather of a personal than a public nature. If I could think them so-if they related merely to myself-I should abstain from a proceeding which might give uncasiness, or interrupt the more weighty occupations of your Royal Highness's time. I should continue, in silence and retirement, to lead the life which has been prescribed to me, and console myself for the loss of that society and those domestic comforts to which I have so long been a stranger, by the reflection that it has been deemed proper I should be afflicted without any fault of my own-and that your Royal Highness knows it.

" But, Sir, there are considerations of a higher nature than any regard to my own happiness, which render this address a duty both to Myself and my Daughter. May I venture to say—a duty also to my Husband, and the people committed to his care? There is a point beyond which a guiltless woman cannot with safety carry her forbearance. If her honour is invaded, the defence of her reputation is no longer a matter of choice; and it signifies not whether the attack be made openly, manfully, and directly-or by secret insinuation, and by holding such conduct towards her as countenances all the suspicions that malice can suggest. If these ought to be the feelings of every woman in England who is conscious that she deserves no reproach, your Royal Highness has too sound a judgment, and too nice a sense of honour, not to perceive, how much more justly they belong to the Mother of your Daughter -the Mother of her who is destined, I trust, at a very distant period, to reign over the British Empire.

"It may be known to your Royal Highness, that during the continuance of the restrictions upon your royal authority, I purposely refrained from making any representations which might then augment the painful difficulties of your exalted sta-

At the expiration of the restrictions tion. I still was inclined to delay taking this step, in the hope that I might owe the redress I sought to your gracious and unsolicited condescension. I have waited, in the fond indulgence of this expectation, until, to my inexpressible mortification, I find that my unwillingness to complain, has only produced fresh grounds of complaint; and I am at length compelled, either to abandon all regard for the two dearest objects which I possess on earth, -mine own honour, and my beloved Child; or to throw myself at the feet of your Royal Highness. the natural protector of both.

"I presume, Sir, to represent to your Royal Highness, that the separation, which every succeeding month is making wider, of the Mother and the Daughter, is equally injurious to my character, and to her education. I say nothing of the deep wounds which so cruel an arrangement inflicts upon my feelings, although I would fain hope that few persons will be found of a disposition to think lightly of these. To see myself cut off from one of the very few domestic enjoyments left me-certainly the only one upon which I set any value, the society of my Child-involves me in such misery, as I well know your Royal Highness could never inflict upon me, if you were aware of its bitterness. Our intercourse has been gradually diminished. A single interview weekly seemed sufficiently hard allowance for a Mother's affections. That, however, was reduced to our meeting once a fortnight; and I now learn, that even this most rigorous interdiction is to be

still more rigidly enforced. "But while I do not venture to intrude my feelings as a Mother upon your Royal Highness's notice, I must be allowed to say, that in the eyes of an observing and jealous world, this separation of a Daughter from her Mother will only admit of one construction, a construction fatal to the Mother's reputation. Your Royal Highness will also pardon me for adding, that there is no less inconsistency than injustice in this treatment. He who dares advise your Royal Highness to overlook the evidence of my innocence, and disregard the sentence of complete acquittal which it produced, - or is wicked and false enough still to whisper suspicions in your ear, -betrays his duty to you, Sir, to your Daughter, and to your People, if he counsels you to permit a day to pass without a further investigation of my conduct. I know that no such calumniator will venture to recomin hi plore I am charg cuser-ample still n subor held t not er

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mend a measure which must speedily end in his utter confusion. Then let me implore you to reflect on the situation in which I am placed; without the shadow of a charge against me-without even an accuser-after an Inquiry that led to my ample vindication-yet treated as if I were still more culpable than the perjuries of my suborned traducers represented me, and held up to the world as a Mother who may not enjoy the society of her only Child.

"The feelings, Sir, which are natural to my unexampled situation, might justify me in the gracious judgment of your Royal Highness, had I no other motives for addressing you but such as relate to myself: but I will not disguise from your Royal Highness what I cannot for a moment conceal from myself,—that the serious, and it soon may be, the irreparable injury which my Daughter sustains from the plan at present pursued, has done more in overcoming my reluctance to intrude upon your Royal Highness, than any sufferings of my own could accomplish: and if, for her sake, I presume to call away your Royal Highness's attention from the other cares of your exalted station, I feel confident I am not claiming it for a matter of inferior importance either to yourself or your people.

"The powers with which the Constitution of these realms vests your Royal Highness in the regulation of the Royal Family, I know, because I am so advised, are ample and unquestionable. My appeal, Sir, is made to your excellent sense and liberality of mind in the exercise of those powers; and I willingly hope, that your own parental feelings will lead you to excuse the anxiety of mine, for impelling me to represent the unhappy consequences which the present system must entail upon our

beloved Child.

"Is it possible, Sir, that any one can have attempted to persuade your Royal Highness, that her character will not be injured by the perpetual violence offered to her strongest affections—the studied care taken to estrange her from my society, and even to interrupt all communication between us? That her love for me, with whom, by His Majesty's wise and gracious arrangements, she passed the years of her infancy and childhood, never can be extinguished, I well know; and the knowledge of it forms the greatest blessing of my existence. But let me implore your Royal Highness to reflect, how inevitably all attempts to abate this attachment, by forcibly separating us, if they succeed, must

injure my Child's principles-if they fail,

must destroy her happiness.

"The plan of excluding my Daughter from all intercourse with the world, appears to my humble judgment peculiarly unfortunate. She who is destined to be the Sovereign of this great country, enjoys none of those advantages of society which are deemed necessary for imparting a knowledge of mankind to persons who have infinitely less occasion to learn that important lesson; and it may so happen, by a chance which I trust is very remote, that she should be called upon to exercise the powers of the Crown, with an experience of the world more confined than that of the most private individual. To the extraordinary talents with which she is blessed, and which accompany a disposition as singularly amiable, frank, and decided, I willingly trust much: but beyond a certain point the greatest natural endowments cannot struggle against the disadvantages of circumstances and situation. It is my earnest prayer, for her own sake, as well as her country's, that your Royal Highness may be induced to pause before this point be reached.

"Those who have advised you, Sir, to delay so long the period of my Daughter's commencing her intercourse with the world, and for that purpose to make Windsor her residence, appear not to have regarded the interruptions to her education which this arrangement occasions; both by the impossibility of obtaining the attendance of proper teachers, and the time unavoidably consumed in the frequent journeys to town which she must make, unless she is to be secluded from all intercourse, even with your Royal Highness and the rest of the Royal Family. To the same unfortunate counsels I ascribe a circumstance in every way so distressing both to my parental and religious feelings, that my Daughter has never yet enjoyed the benefit of Confirmation, although above a year older than the age at which all the other branches of the Royal Family have partaken of that solem-May I earnestly conjure you, Sir, to hear my entreaties upon this serious matter, even if you should listen to other advisers on things of less near concernment to the welfare of our Child?

" The pain with which I have at length formed the resolution of addressing myself to your Royal Highness is such as I should in vain attempt to express. If I could adequately describe it, you might be enabled, Sir, to estimate the strength of the motives H 2

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which have made me submit to it: they are the most powerful feelings of affection, and the deepest impressions of duty towards your Royal Highness, my beloved Child, and the country, which I devoutly hope she may be preserved to govern, and to shew by a new example the liberal affection of a free and generous people to a virtuous and Constitutional Monarch.

"I am, Sir, with profound respect, and an attachment which nothing can alter, your Royal Highness's most devoted and most affectionate Consort, Cousin, and Subject,

(Signed) "CAROLINE LOUISA."
"Montague-house, 14th of Jan. 1813."

#### SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN WAR. -- It will be useless, perhaps, but I cannot refrain from calling the attention of the public once more to the gross delusions practised upon it by the hired prints, with regard to this war.-At first they said, that there would be no war; that war was the cry of the mere rabble; and that though Mr. Madison was himself corrupted by France, the Congress were not. When the Congress met, they, however, actually declared war. our hirelings told us, that the people were enraged with both President and Congress, and that, as the election of President was approaching, they would turn Mr. Madison out, and that thus the war would be put an end to .- That election has now terminated; but, until the termination, or, rather, the result, was known, we heard of nothing but the certain defeat of Mr. Madi-He was sure to lose his election; and, indeed, several successive arrivals brought us the news of his having actually lost it. To which was added, that his rival, Mr. Clinton, had pledged himself to make peace with England .--At last, however, comes the news, that Mr. Madison was re-elected! After this one would have supposed that the hireling press would, at least, have kept silence upon the sub-ject; but, no. It had still a falsehood left; and, it is now telling the people, the "thinking people" of England, that, next year, there will be a re-election of the Senate, when Mr. Madison will have a majority of ten against him in that body, and that, in consequence of such change, he will be compelled to make peace with us. What appende must this be to be thus ive listen to such pubdeceive n them too ays spoken

the truth! --- Nothing can, however, be more flattering to the Americans than these statements, which show how uneasy this country is under the war with them; how sorely we feel the effects of it; and how anxious we are to get out of it .is a coxcomb, who publishes in the Times news-paper, under the signature of VETUS, who would fain make us believe, that the people of America, or, at least, the agricultural part of the population, are a sort of half-savages. If Vetus had to write to them, he would not find many fools enough to tolerate his sublimated trash. He imputes their dislike to English politics to their ignorance. He does not know, perhaps, that they, to a man (if natives) are as well acquainted with all our laws as we are ourselves; that they know all about our Excise taxes, and Custom-house taxes, and Assessed taxes, and Property taxes, full as well as we do; and, that they know all about our law of libel, our sinecures, and our paupers. If he were to go amongst them, and to have the impudence to tell them, that these are proofs of civilization, they would, or, at least, I hope so, make him remember the assertion as long as he had life in his carcass. The Americans have always had their eyes fixed upon us; and, does this foolish man imagine, that they do not know how to set a proper value upon our system of government?they come to England, as some of them do, they sometimes reach London by the way of Blackwater, where, while they behold immense places for the education of officers of the army, they see ragged, or, rather, naked, children tumbling along the road by the side of their chaise, crying as they go, "Pray bestow your charity; pray be"stow your charity!" The Americans know how to estimate these things. They are at no loss to draw the proper inferences from such facts; and it is not the trash of Vetus about civilization that will cloud their reasoning.—The American farmers are great readers. There are absolutely none of them who do not read much. They know, that we pay more in poor-rates only than double the amount of the whole of their revenue! That fact alone is enough for them. With that fact before their eyes, they will be in no haste to attain what this fop calls a high state of civilization .--Besides, as to the fact: all those who know America will say, that the farmers there are a class of men beyond all belief superior in understanding to those of England, or of any country in Europe.

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They have plenty; they have no dread of the tax-gatherer; their minds are never haunted with the fear of want; they have, therefore, leisure to think and to read. And, as to what he says about their being absorbed in the love of gain, the fact is the They have no motive to acquire reverse. great wealth, other than the mere vulgar love of money, seeing that no sum of money will purchase them distinction, seeing that millions would not obtain them a bow That is a country from even a negro. where the servant will not pull his hat off to his employer, and where no man will condescend to call another man his master. -Hence it is that the American farmer makes no very great exertions to become rich. Riches beyond his plain wants are They cannot elevate of no use to him. him; they cannot purchase him seats; they cannot get him titles; they cannot obtain commissions or church benefices for his sons; they can do nothing for him but add to his acres, which are already, in most cases, but too abundant. -He has, from these causes, much leisure, and that naturally produces reading, particularly when the residence is in the country. that the half-wild man, whose picture has been drawn by Vetus is wholly foreign from the reality of the American farmer. The American farmer does not hate England. He hates a taxing-system, and he hates the English system; but, he does not want war with England. He wants to have nothing to do with her; and, though he hates war, he is more afraid of a connexion with her than with a war against her. He wishes to see all those, who will be connected with her, expelled from his country; and, therefore, he is pleased to see the makers of knives and of coats rise up in his own country. To bring about this, to create manufactures in America was the policy of Mr. Jefferson; an object which has been now attained, through the means of our hostility and of the revolution in Spain.—The continuation of the war for about three years longer will for ever put an end to English connexion; and thus, the grand object of Mr. Jefferson's policy will have been secured during his probable life-time. This silly fellow, Vetus, seems to be wholly ignorant of the subject. He knows nothing either of the character or interests of the American people. He senselessly urges on the war without at all perceiving the consequences

to which it leads. He does not perceive,

that it will effectually deprive our govern-

ment of the power of again taxing the coat or the candlestick of the American farmer. He does not perceive, that it will stop from our treasury many millions a year. When he is talking of the folly of introducing manufactures into America, he does not perceive, that that is the most deadly blow that the Americans can give to our taxing system. - From the empty verbiage of this writer, who has been well termed an old battered hack, I come to something of more importance; namely, the debate of the 18th instant, in the House of Commons, upon the subject of the war with America. I, perhaps, should not call it a debate, where, as to the only point at issue, all the speakers seem to have been of one mind and sentiment. But, be it what it may, it is of great importance to the liberties of mankind; and, as such, I shall notice it somewhat in detail. LORD CASTLEREAGH (aye, that is the man, Americans!) opened the discussion in the character of Secretary of State for Foreign This man's name is well known to the world. This is now the man, who, after Perceval, is to maintain the justice and necessity of a war against America. The Papers, relating to the negociation between the two countries, had been laid before the House; and, in consequence of this, Lord Castlereagh, on the 18th, brought forward a motion for " an Address " to the Prince Regent, expressing the regret of Parliament for the failure of the " negociation, and pledging themselves to " a zealous and cordial co-operation with " His Royal Highness in the prosecution of " the war, in support of the rights and " interests of Great Britain, and the Ho-" nour of His Majesty's Crown." This motion was carried with an unanimous voice, just as similar motions used to be during the former American war, when about forty of such addresses were carried -I shall now proceed to up to the King .notice such parts of the speeches as seem to me worthy of particular attention. --Lord Castlereagh set out with relating what had passed in regard to the Orders in Council, and, after having referred to the time and manner of their repeal, and to the pledges of support of the war given in case that repeal should fail of producing peace with America, he said, as it is stated in the report in the Morning Herald, that, " he, therefore, should support the war against her. He, "therefore, now flattered himself, that "Government would meet with that supco port which had been so liberally proet mised. If this was really found to be " the case—if every attempt had been " made, that justice or forbearance could 46 suggest, to conciliate America, and if, " notwithstanding, she had issued a declaer ration of war, and persisted in carrying " it on, after the concessions that had been " made, where was the man that could re-" fuse his assent to carry on the war with 44 vigour adequate to our means? America " would thus see the united efforts of the "Country, and the unanimity of the " House, that had been called forth by the " line of policy that she had pursued. "they looked at the documents that had " been published by the American Govern-" ment as the grounds of the war, they should look at peace as an object very at distant, because the American Govern-" ment placed the war on such extensive " grounds as could not be removed by this "Country." -- It is very true, that there were people in the House of Commons to promise to support the war if the repeal of the Orders in Council failed to satisfy the Americans; but, I made no such promise; and, therefore, I, though a fly amongst eagles, am at liberty to express my disapprobation of the war .- Nay, I most distinctly said, at the time, that the repeal of the Orders in Council would not satisfy the American People. I had, indeed, said so many months before: and I had said it upon a knowledge of the fact. I had all along said, that, unless we ceased to impress persons out of American ships upon the high seas, we should have war; and, therefore, when the ministry were, by Mr. Brougham, reduced to the necessity of repealing the Orders in Council, I, in an address to the Prince Regent, prayed him to add a relinquishment of the practice of impressment, with which, I positively asserted, that the other measure would fail of its desired effect .- Nevertheless Mr. Ponsonby (as the leader of the Whigs) did promise support to the war, if the repeal of the Orders failed to satisfy America; and Mr. Brougham did the same .country was thus misled, and was prepared for a justification of this war. The manufacturers, some of whom came to see me in Newgate, where I had been imprisoned for two years, and sentenced to pay a fine of a thousand pounds to the king, which I have since paid to his son in his behalf, for having written and published upon the subject of the flogging of some Local Militiamen, in the town of Ely, in England, who had been first

quelled by German Troops; here, I say, in this prison, I saw some of the manufacturers, who, after the success of Mr. Brougham's motion, were preparing to return home, full of joy in the assurance of a renewed and uninterrupted intercourse with America, and I told them, that they ought to moderate their joy; for, that Mr. Brougham's success would not produce the effect they expected, but that, on the contrary, his pledge to support a war, if that measure failed to ensure peace, might be attended hereafter with infinite mischief. -They did not absolutely laugh in my face, but I could clearly perceive, that they did not believe a word that I said, and that they attributed my gloomy predictions to a feeling, which, though I might have been excused for possessing it, really was a stranger, as far as that subject went, to my -The truth is, that they saw no importance in any thing but commerce; they saw nothing in impressments to make a nation go to war; they regarded it as madness to suppose, that a nation would suspend its commercial gains for a single hour for the sake of a few thousands of men impressed by a foreign power. I, however, knew the disposition of the free people of America better; I had heard the declaration of the Congress on the subject; I knew that that body, whose seats are not bought and sold, spoke the voice of the people; and, upon this ground, together with other ground that I need not be particular in naming, I founded my assurances to the manufacturers, that the repeal of the Orders in Council would not answer the end they expected from it; and I could not help, I must confess, feeling some slight degree of anger against the manufacturing bodies, when I saw them meeting to vote thanks to Mr. Brougham, without taking the smallest notice of my incessant efforts to prevent that destruction of their hopes, which I saw would speedily tread upon the heels of their exultation.--However, this feeling has long been extinguished in my breast, and I only regret that I am without the power of affording any portion of assistance to the poor suffering wretches in the manufacturing districts .--To return now to the debate; Lord Castlereagh talks of concessions made to America in the repeal of the Orders in Council. I have often shown, that there was, according to the settled laws and usages of nations, no concession at all. Nay, there was, according to our own doctrine; according to our own part of the correspondence, no concession

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made to America. The thing is shown, as clear as day-light, in two words .-We all along avowed, that, in themselves considered, our Orders in Council were a violation of the neutral rights of America; but, we asserted, that they were justified by the violation of those same rights committed by Napoleon; and we declared that we would cease our violation, the moment France ceased her's .- France did cease; we had, according to our own declaration, proof that France had ceased before we made the repeal. We then ceased; but, I put it to the common sense of the reader, whether this cessation ought to be called a CONCESSION .- Thus, according to our own doctrine; according to our own diplomatic correspondence; according to our own more solemn acts, the Orders themselves and the Declaration of repeal; according to all these, we made NO CON-GESSION at all to America. --- Why, then, talk about concessions? It may have an effect here; but, assuredly, it will have none in America, where the government (a government chosen by and resting upon the free and unbought voice of the people) have constantly protested against our Orders in Council as an open and gross violation of the known and acknowledged rights of America, and as receiving not a shadow of justification from the violent and unjust conduct of France. - To talk, therefore, of concessions seems to me to be something intolerable; but, to expect, that the people of America would, after the solemn declaration of Congress to the contrary; to expect that they would disarm upon our ceasing to violate one of their rights, while a still more grave subject of complaint existed; to entertain such an expectation as this, appears unaccountable upon any supposition than that of our ministers and members of parliament being wholly deficient in knowledge relative to the opinions and feelings of the American people, and the means of the American government. Besides, there was another consideration connected with the repeal of the Orders in Council; and that was, that, by the repeal we merely announced our intention to cease to violate a right. We said nothing about compensation for the past. This was very material; for, it was impossible that it should be overlooked by the American government, without an abandonment of all the principles upon which it had resisted the Orders in Council. I also pointed this out at the time, for which I was treated as a fool and

a friend of France by a Scotch news paper. The manufacturers of Paisley will, by this time, have discovered, that I was a better friend of England than their impudent countryman, and that I foresaw an obstacle to peace which had escaped the eyes of both the parties in parliament; for, Lord Castlereagh now tells us, that such compensation was demanded as a preliminary to a cessation of hostilities. "The Orders in "Council," he said, "were now wholly " out of the question, by the overture for " an armistice on both sides: but even on " the ground of the repeal of the Orders in "Council, the American Government had " pressed the matter so far, and in such a " temper, as to admit of no amicable ar-" rangement. Mr. Russel had put in " claims to have indemnity for all captures " made by our cruizers under the Orders in " Council since 1806. He did not say that " this might not have been given up, but, " as the question stood, it evidently ap-" peared that America had shewn no disposition to be satisfied with the forbear-" ance of this country." --- Well, if this might have been given up on our side, why not give it up at first, and see what it would do? However, the demand was made, we see, and I said it would be made. Indeed, it was manifest that it must be made. The American government could not avoid making it, without exposing itself to the detestation of the people, as a base abandoner of their rights; rights so long contended for, and sought to be redressed by means of so many and such large sacrifices. -- Now, our ministers and Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Brougham ought to have foreseen that this demand would be made. In not foreseeing it they shewed a want of knowledge upon the subject, and also a want of knowledge as to the circumstances in which America stood with regard to France, from whom she was, and still is, demanding indemnity upon exactly the same principle that she makes the demand on us. --- The reader cannot be too often reminded of the origin and nature of the Orders in Council. They arose, as we allege, out of the French decrees of Berlin and Milan, the two places at which the Emperor was when he signed them. These decrees violated neutral rights on the seas ; but, it was declared in the preambles to them, that this violation was rendered necessary by certain Orders in Council of England which enforced a greater violation of neutral rights .- We, upon the appearance of these Decrees, issued other Orders in Council,

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enforcing other violations of neutral rights. | - Both parties were complained of by America. Both parties call their measures retaliatory. Both parties allowed that their measures violated neutral rights. Both parties said they regretted that the measures had been forced upon them. Each party declared, over and over again, in the most solemn manner, that the moment the other removed or relaxed his measures he should find a joyful imitator in the party declaring .- America protested against the conduct of both. said to us, that we had no right to violate her rights because they were violated by France; and to France she said, that she had no right to violate her rights because they were violated by us .- At last, to put the sincerity of the two parties to the test, she passes a law, which says, that if, before the 1st of November 1810, both parties have repealed their Decrees, their commercial and friendly intercourse with her shall continue; that, if one party does repeal and the other does not repeal by that day, then her ports shall be shut against the non-repealing power in February 1811. Napoleon, in the month of August, 1810, issued a Decree by which his violating Decrees stood repealed on the 1st of the following November. This new decree was communicated to our ministers by the American minister in London, who expressed his hope, that, agreeably to our many solemn declarations, we should hasten to follow the example of France. Our ministers answered in a sort of vague way; but, at any rate, they did not repeal; and, in February, 1811, the law went into effect against us. Our goods and our vessels were shut out of the American ports, while those of France were admitted. We asserted, that Napodeon had not repealed his decrees. America asserted that he had, but we would not believe her. We insisted, that she did not know the fact nearly so well as wedid. In short, we continued to refuse to repeal.-At last, the great distresses and consequent complaints of the manufacturers led to an inquiry, at the bar of the House of Commons, into the effects of the Orders in Council, when such a mass of evidence was produced by Mr. Brougham in support of the proposition, that the non-importation law of America was the principal cause of those distresses, that the ministers, Perceval being dead, gave way: and the Orders were repealed.—This is the plain and true history of the matter; and

I particularly wish the reader to bear in mind, that our Orders had, up to the moment of Napoleon's repeal of his Decrees. always been acknowledged by us to contain a violation of the known rights of neutrals; but, in our justification, we said, that it was forced upon us by the Decrees of the enemy. - This was our language up to the moment of Napoleon's repeal. But, what says Lord Castlereagh now? So far from acknowledging, that the Orders in Council enforced a violation of any known neutral right, he contends (if the report of his speech be correct) that they were founded on our known primitive rights. The words, as they stand in the report, are these :- " The Orders in Council had been " a point on which considerable difference " of opinion in this Country had prevailed, " but they had been abandoned, not so " much on the ground of this Country not " having THE RIGHT, as with a view to " commercial expediency. He rather wish-"ed, however, to wave the renewal of that "branch of the question, now that the " whole proceedings of Government were " before the House. With respect to the " main principles of that system, Ministers " were still unaltered in their opinion, when " the conservation of the Country rendered " it necessary to resort to it. At the time " the measure was adopted such a system was necessary, not only as it respected " France, but as connected with the sound-" est policy for the general interests of the " British Empire. Had it not been for the " manly resistance given by that measure to the power of France, France now would " have been as triumphant, in a commercial point of view, as she was with respect to "the Continent. He begged he might " always be considered as an admirer of "that system."-Now, I state, that the Orders of Council themselves, and the papers of our diplomatic agents, and the Speeches of Sir William Scott, almost explicitly acknowledge, that the measure was to be justified only on the ground of its being 2 retaliation on France; and that, in the two former, is expressed, His Majesty's earnest desire to imitate France in doing away these obnoxious measures. - This was our language up to the moment when the repeal of the French Decrees was announced to us .-Our language has, indeed, since changed; and, it was, during the debates upon Mr. Brougham's motions, coolly argued, that the repeal of the Orders would make the Americans the carriers of the commerce of the world, But, though we have changed

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our language, it does not follow that America should change hers. She always contended that by the Orders of Council her rights, were violated; she always contended, that all the seizure we made under those Orders were unjust; and, of course, she demands indemnity for those immense seizures .- But, is it really so; can it be possible; can the thing be, that a Secretary of State has asserted, in open Parliament, that, without any reference to the conduct of France, and that though the Decrees of Napoleon did not exist, we had a right to do what was done, towards neutrals, under the Orders in Council; and, that, whenever we think proper, we have a right to do the same again? If this be so; if this assertion was made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and if it be meant to be maintained, then, certainly, the war with America will be long indeed. Reader, what was it that was done in virtue of these Orders in Council?--- I will give you an instance. --- An American-built ship, owned by a native American, manned by native Americans, laden with flour, or any thing else the growth of America, and bound from America to France, or to any other country named in the Orders in Council, was seized on the high seas by any of our vessels of war, carried into any of our ports, the ship and cargo condemned, and the master and his crew turned on shore to beg or starve, or live and find their way home as they could. - This was what was done in virtue of the Orders in Council; and, if the Report be correct, this is what we have a right to do towards neutrals again, " whenever the "conservation of the country" calls for it; that is to say, whenever our government thinks proper to cause it to be done !-Now, I will not waste my time and that of the reader by any discussion upon maritime and neutral rights; but will just ask him this one question: if we have a right to act thus towards America, whenever we thing proper, she being at peace with us, what can she lose in the way of trade, what can she risk, in changing that state of peace for a state of war? In my next I shall discuss the other points brought forward in this debate.

WM. COBBETT.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

Address to the Protestants of Great Britain, &c.—(continued from page 224.)

Roman Catholics would benefit them, it

would confer no real benefit on the State; and that, as no alteration of law should take place, unless it promotes the general welfare of the State, the laws complained of should remain in force.

But we beg leave to submit to the consideration of our countrymen, that the whole kingdom would be essentially served by the repeal of the penal laws remaining in force against His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. On this head, the writer of these columns requests your particular attention.

Two-thirds of the population of Ireland, and no inconsiderable proportion of the population of England, is composed of Roman Catholics. It is obvious that the feelings of this large proportion of the community are wounded, in the highest degree, by the penal and disabling laws to which they are subject; and that they consider themselves highly injured, insulted, and degraded by them. Now, must it not be beneficial to the State, that this extensive feeling of insult, injury, and degradation should be healed? Do not wisdom and sound policy make it the interest of the State, that every circumstance which leads this injured, insulted, and degraded, but numerous portion of the community, to think that any new order of things must end their injury, insult, and degradation, and is, therefore, desirable, should be removed as soon as possible? Surely the removal of it must be as advantageous to the State, as it will be advantageous and gratifying to the persons individually benefited by it.

But this is not the only circumstance which would make the repeal of the penal laws a general benefit to the State. Again we request you to consider the immense number of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, and the great proportion which it bears to the rest of the community. - What a proportion of genius, of talent, of energy, of every thing else, by which individuals are enabled to distinguish themselves, and benefit and elevate their country, must fall to their share: - But all this, for the present, is lost to you, in consequence of the penal codes. Is the subtraction of this prodigious mass of probable genius, talent, and wisdom, from the general stock, no detriment to the State?—Surely it is a national loss. Thus while the penal code harasses the individual object of its infliction, it contracts and paralyzes, to an amazing degree, the strength, powers, and energies of the whole community.

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It is alleged, that the Roman Catholics

of this kingdom enjoy the most full and liberal Toleration; and that Toleration is the utmost favour to which any non-conformist to the religion established by law can reasonably aspire.

To this, we beg leave to answer, that toleration, rightly understood, is all we ask for by our Petition. But what is toleration, when the word is rightly understood? If, after a Government has adopted a particular religion, decreed its mode of worship to be observed in its churches, and provided for its functionaries, from the funds of the State, it leaves the non-conformist in complete possession of all their civil rights and liberties, the non-conformist enjoys a full and complete Toleration. whenever the government of a country represses other forms of religion, by subjecting those who profess them, to any deprivation or abridgment of civil right or liberty, Toleration is at an end, and Persecution begins.

This is too plain a position to admit of contradiction; the only question, therefore, is, whether the pains and penalties to which the Roman Catholics are still subject by the laws in force against them, deprive them of any civil right or liberty.

To meet this question fully, I shall consider, how far the Corporation Act, which excludes us from Corporations, and the Test Act, which excludes us from Civil and Military Offices, can be justly said to deprive us of a civil right. I prefer placing the question on these acts, because, by their own confession, it is the strongest hold of our adversaries, and because, in the discussion of that question, thus propounded, I shall advocate the cause of the Protestant Dissenters as much as our own.

Our common adversaries contend, that the exclusion of non-conformists, by the Test and Corporation Acts, from honourable lucrative offices, is not a punishment, and, therefore, is not intolerance.

But before the enactment of those statutes, were not all the subjects of this realm equally eligible, by the common law of the land, to every honourable and every lucrative office which the State could confer? Is not eligibility to office a civil right? Does it not, therefore, necessarily follow, that every statute which deprived non-conformists of their right of eligibility to office, deprived them of a civil right, and was therefore penal? If Roman Catholics had been in possession of these offices, and deprived of them in consequence of their adherence to their religion by the statutes

in question; some persons might have contended for the wisdom of the statutes, but none could have contended that they were not highly penal. But whatever difference there may be in the degree of penal infliction, there is none in the penal quality of those statutes, which deprive persons of offices, and those which deprive them of the prior legal eligibility to them. The right of possessing an office, the right of succeeding to it, and the right of eligibility to it, are equally civil rights. There is no difference in this respect between offices and landed property—the right to possess an estate, to succeed to it, and to acquire it, are equally civil rights. The justice or policy of these laws is not now under our consideration—the simple question before us is, whether eligibility to offices and election into corporations, were not by the common law the civil right of every Englishman, and whether his being deprived of it was not a penal infliction. It is impossible to deny it. This infliction reaches every description of non-conformists to the established Church: their religion, therefore, is not tolerated—it is persecuted. On the policy, the justice, or degree of that persecution, there may be a difference of opinion; but that, in some degree at least, it is a persecution it seems impossible to deny. Thus we seem to arrive at this questionable conclusion, that, in point of fact, all non-conformists are persecuted. The difference between Roman Catholics and other non-conformists, is, that Roman Catholics are subject to pains and disabilities which do not affect any other description of non-conformists. The Roman Catholics, therefore, are the most persecuted

Here, then, we close with our adversaries; we seek not to interfere with the established Church, with her hierarchy, with her endowments, with her tithes, with any thing else that contributes to her honour, her comfort, or her security. Give us but toleration in the true sense of that much abused word, and we claim no more. By the oath prescribed to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, by the 33d of His present Majesty, the Roman Catholic swears-" That "he will defend to the utmost of his power, the settlement and arrangement " of property in that country, as establish-"ed by the laws now in being; and he " thereby disclaims, disavows, and solemn-"ly abjures any intention to subvert the " present Church establishment, for the " purpose of substituting a Catholic estat 245]
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"blishment in its stead; and he solemnly swears, that he will not exercise any privilege to which he is or may be entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion, and Protestant government in that kingdom."

V.

But it is suggested, that though it should be conceded, that all other non-conformists to the Church of England ought to be admitted to a free and complete toleration, the Roman Catholics should be excluded from it on account of their acknowledgment of the

Supremacy of the Pope.

This admits of a very easy answer. The Roman Catholics certainly acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Pope; but they deny his temporal authority; they acknowledge no right either in the Pope, or in any Council, to interfere in any manner in temporal concerns, or to interfere, by any mode of temporal power, in concerns of a spiritual nature. By the oath prescribed to the English Roman Catholics, by the 31st of His present Majesty, we swear, that "we do "not believe that the Pope of Rome, or " any other foreign prince, prelate, state, " or potentate hath, or ought to have, any "temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, su-" periority, or pre-eminence, directly, or "indirectly, within the realm."

The Irish and Scottish Roman Catholic subjects of His Majesty take a similar oath. The answers given by the foreign universities to the questions proposed to them by the direction of Mr. Pitt, the doctrines laid down in all our catechisms, and other standard books of authority, express the same belief. In the oath taken by the Irish Roman Catholics they swear, that "it is not an article of the Catholic faith, and "that they are not thereby bound to be-"lieve or profess, that the Pope is infalli-"ble; or that they are not bound to obey "any order, in its own nature immoral, "though the Pope or any ecclesiastical "power should issue or direct such an " order; but that, on the contrary, they "hold it sinful in them to pay any regard

It is said, that the Popes on several occasions have claimed and exercised the right of temporal power. We acknowledge it, and we lament it. But the fact is of little consequence; no Roman Catholic now believes, that either Pope or Council, or both Pope and Council acting together, have, or ought to have, any right to interfere by any form or mode, either of temporal or spiritual power, in civil concerns; or to interfere by any form or mode of temporal power, in spiritual concerns. This the Irish, Scottish, and English Roman Catholics have sworn, and they act up to their oaths.

VI.

I proceed to another charge:—It is asserted to be a tenet of our faith, or, at least, a received opinion among us, that the Pope or the Church has a right to absolve subjects from their allegiance to their Sovereign.

But this doctrine has been most solemnly abjured by us, in the oaths which we have taken to Government. It is disclaimed by the opinions of the foreign universities, and Pope Pius the VIth proscribed it, by his rescript of the 17th of June, 1791.

VII.

The same may be said of the charge brought against us of holding it lawful to kill any Sovereign or any private person under excommunication. This doctrine also is disclaimed by us, in our oaths, as "unchristian and impious;" it is disclaimed in terms, equally strong, in the answers of the foreign Universities, and Pope Pius the VIth, in his rescript of 1791, solemnly declares such a murder "to be a horrid "and detestable crime."

VIII.

The same answer may also be given to the charge, of its being a tenet of our church, that it is lawful to break faith with heretics. In our oaths, we disclaim that doctrine also. " as impious and unchristian," and the terms in which it is disclaimed in the answers of the foreign Universities, are equally strong. But, without entering further on the subject of this charge, we make this solemn appeal upon it, to the feelings and common sense of every reader of these columns: - Does not the single circumstance, of our being, after the lapse of 200 years, petitioners to Parliament for the repeal of the penal and disabling laws to which we are subject, in consequence of our not taking oaths, the taking of which would, at once, have delivered us from all these penalties and disabilities, prove, beyond all exception and argument, that we do not believe the existence of any power which can dispense with the obligation of an oath. head I beg leave to add my own testimony -having, in almost every stage of life, lived in habits of acquaintance or intimacy with all descriptions of Roman Catholics; the young, the old, the literate, the illiterate, foreigners and natives, ecclesiastic and secular, I never knew one who did not hear the charge in question with indignation, and treat it as an execrable calumny.

But it is said that the Council of Lateran assumed a right to temporal power, and that the Council of Constance authorized the violation of the safe conduct granted to John Huss. Both of those facts are positively denied by the Roman Catholics. This is not a place for discussing the point—but, what does it signify?—If the Council of Lateran claimed for the Pope, or itself, a right to temporal power, it did wrong; if the Council of Constance authorized the violation of the safe conduct, it did infamously, and there's an end on't.

IX.

Having had frequent occasion to mention in these columns the answers of the Foreign Universities to certain questions proposed to them by the direction of Mr. Pitt, the reader will probably wish to be better informed of the circumstances attending the transaction.

In the year 1786, the Committee of the English Catholics waited on Mr. Pitt, respecting their application for a repeal of the penal laws. He requested to be furnished with authentic evidence of the opinions of the Roman Catholic Clergy, and the Roman Catholic Universities abroad, "on the existence and extent of the Pope's dispensing power." Three questions were accordingly framed, and submitted to his approbation. As soon as it was obtained, they were sent to the Universities of Paris, Louvain, Alcala, Douay, Salamanca, and Valladolid, for their opinions. The questions proposed to them were—

1. Has the Pope, or Cardinals, or any Body of Men, or any Individual of the Church of Rome, any Civil Authority, Power, Jurisdiction, or Pre-eminence whatsoever, within the Realm of England?

2. Can the Pope, or Cardinals, or any Body of Men, or any Individual of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense with His Majesty's Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever?

3. Is there any Principle in the Tenets of the Catholic Faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping Faith with Heretics, or other Persons differing from them in Religious Opinions, in any Transaction, either of a public or a private Nature?

The Universities answered unanimously,

1. That the Pope, or Cardinals, or any Body of Men, or any Individual of the Church of Rome, HAS NOT any Civil Authority, Power, Jurisdiction, or Pre-eminence whatsoever, within the Realm of England.

2. That the Pope, or Cardinals, or any Body of Men, or any Individual of the Church of Rome, CANNOT absolve or dispense with His Majesty's Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever.

3. That there is no Principle in the Tenets of the Catholic Faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping Faith with Heretics, or other Persons differing from them in Religious Opinions, in any Transactions either of a public or a private Nature.

Nothing can be more explicit than the answers of the Foreign Universities—some of them express perfect wonder, that such questions should be proposed to them by a nation that glories in her learning and discernment.

As soon as the opinions of the Foreign Universities were received, they were transmitted to Mr. Pitt. But the Roman Catholics wish it to be most distinctly understood, that it was for his satisfaction, not their's, that these opinions were taken. Assuredly, His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects did not want the wisdom of Foreign Universities to inform them, that His Majesty is the lawful Sovereign of all his Roman Catholic Subjects, and that by every divine and human law, his Roman Catholic subjects owe him true, dutiful, active, and unreserved allegiance.

The originals of these questions and of the answers to them, with the notarial authentications of them, have been produced in the House of Commons by Sir John Cox Hippisley. They are in the custody of the writer of these columns, and are open to the inspection of every person who wishes to inspect them.

X.

It is also objected to the Roman Catholics, that it is an article of their faith, or, at least, that they consider it to be lawful to persecute Heretics for their religious opinions. All this the Roman Catholics most explicitly deny, and they consider it is completely denied in the solemn disclaimers made by them in all their oaths, of the direct or indirect right of the Pope or the church to temporal power; as without temporal power persecution cannot subsist.

They admit that many persons of their communion, both ecclesiastic and secular, have, at different times, been guilty of the crime of religious persecution; but they blame the conduct of those persons as severely as it is blamed by their Protestant brethren.

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They also plead a tremendons set off. The massacre at Paris, on St. Bartholomew's day, was most horrid; but it had been preceded by the atrocities, full as horrid, of the Anabaptist Protestants at Munster. the burnings in the reign of Queen Mary the Roman Catholics oppose the executions of Priests in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, and the four Princes of the House of Stuart: they apprehend, that more cannot be said against the revocation of the edict of Nantes than against the deprivation of 2,000 Presbyterian Ministers of their livings, by the They also bring into Act of Uniformity. account Oates's plot; the sentence of death passed on Servitus for errors against the Trinity, through the influence of Calvin, his execution, and the justification of it by two of the principal pillars of the reformed Church, Melancthon and Beza. Between these enormities, it is not easy, in all events, to strike a balance; but the Roman Catholic may justly ask, by what principle of justice, or by what fair course of reasoning, the Protestant is authorized to ascribe the instances of persecution, which he proves on Roman Catholics, to a principle of the Roman Catholic creed, unless he allows, at the same time, that the instances of persecution which the Catholic proves in the Protestant Church are equally attributable to some principle of the Protestant creed. " Brother, Brother (say two known charac-"ters on the stage), we have both been in "the wrong."-Let us learn wisdom from them; let us no more upbraid one another with our common failings; let us forget and forgive, bury all past animosities in oblivion, shake hands, and be friends. This is the only rational mode of closing this-by far the most disgusting and disgraceful part of all our controversies.

XI.

Another charge is brought against us by our adversaries, in consequence of the Doctrines imputed to us respecting Sacerdotal Absolution. We are said to believe that the mere absolution of a Priest, without any thing on our part, is a full remission of sin. In answer to this we shall only transcribe the following passage from the Book of Prayers for the use of Catholics serving in fleets and armies. "You know, from "the Catechism you have learnt, and the "Books of Catholic instruction you have read, that the absolution of a Priest can be of no benefit to you, unless you be duly disposed to a reconciliation with your offended God by true faith, by a sincere sorrow for all your sins, by a firm "resolution never to commit them again, and by a willingness to satisfy God and your Neighbour also, as far as justice requires. Without those dispositions on your part, the act of the Priest would not be ratified in Heaven; you would be guilty of the profanation of the sacrament of penance, and provoke the indignation of the Almighty instead of obtaining his mercy."

It is not a little remarkable, that a canon of the English church, in 1608, enjoining the Priest not to make known to any one what had been revealed to him, bears such a similitude to the Roman Catholic doctrine on this head, that when it was produced in the House of Commons, Mr. Wilberforce interrupted him by saying, that it was a canon, not of the English but the Romish church, and expressed his astonishment when Sir John Hippisley shewed it to be one of the most recent canons which had been formed for the government of the established church.

### XII.

One of the objections most strongly urged against the Roman Catholics, is the tenet imputed to them, that none are saved out of their communion.

I beg leave not to enter into a discussion of this objection, as it cannot be urged to us by a Protestant of the established church of England, as the Athanasian Greed forms a part of her liturgy, and he swears that our doctrine of transubstantiation is damnable; or by a Protestant of the established church of Scotland, as the Protestants of that church, in their Profession of Faith of 1568, say, that "out of the church there " is neither life nor everlasting happiness;" or by a Protestant of the French Huguenot church, as in their Catechism, on the 10th article of the Creed, they profess, that " out of the church there is nothing but " death and damnation."

#### XIII.

This leads us to observe, that passages are often cited from the works of Roman Catholic writers, which express, that the Roman Catholic religion has always been the same; and that those who say, that the modern Roman Catholics differ in one iota from their predecessors, either deceive themselves or wish to deceive others. These passages have been cited to prove that, whatever doctrine any Pope or any ecclesiastical body, or any writer of approved authority, maintained or sanctioned by those practices in former times, is universally approved of by the modern Catholics;

but this is a very unjust perversion of the meaning of the writers from whose writings the passages which we have cited, or passages of a similar import, are cited. Not one of them approves of any act of temporal power which the Pope or any body of churchmen have ever claimed in right of their spiritual character. In the cited passages the writers mean to assert no more than that the faith and essential discipline of Roman Catholics have always been what they now are. But they admit, that the resort of the Popes, or of any other ecclesiastics to temporal power, for effecting the object of their spiritual commission, was not only no part of the faith or essential discipline of the Church, but was diametrically opposite to its faith and discipline. The passages, therefore, to which we allude, can never be brought to prove the position for which they are quoted. To urge them for such a purpose, is evidently a gross perversion of their meaning.

XIV.

Such, then, being the charges brought against the Roman Catholics by their adversaries, and such being the Defence made by the Roman Catholics to them, will not every candid Protestant admit, that the unfavourable opinion, which some still entertain of the civil and religious principles of Roman Catholics, is owing, in a great mea-

sure, to prejudice.

But we have the satisfaction to find, that the prejudice against us decreases rapidly. With the mildness and good sense which distinguishes his respectable character, the Earl of Liverpool thus expressed himself, in his speech in the debate of the House of Lords, on the Petition presented by the Irish Catholics in 1810 .- " I have heard " allusions made this night, to doctrines, which I do hope no man now believes the " Catholics to entertain: nor is there any ground for an opinion that the question is opposed under any such pretence. The " explanations which have been given on " this head, so far as I know, are completely " satisfactory, and the question, as it now stands, is much more narrowed than it " was on a former discussion." (See his Lordship's Speech, printed and published by Keating and Booker.) How very little beyond this declaration, and a Legislative enactment in consequence of it, do the Roman Catholics solicit!

CHARLES BUTLER.

Lincoln's Inn, February 5, 1813.

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#### FRENCH PAPERS.

(Continued from page 192.)

tremity of the cold, had sneaked into the With regard to the cannon, they villages. have not carried off a single piece, although it is true, that I was obliged, by the loss of my horses, which perished through the excessive cold, to abandon the greater part of my artillery, after having dismounted and broken it. I know that the Russian statements are quite false; the extent of the country, and the extreme ignorance of the greater part of its population, give the Russian Government great liberty in this respect, and they take good care to profit by it, in causing the most nonsensical reports to be spread about. We were at the gates of Moscow, when that people believed us to be beaten.

(Signed) EUGENE NAPOLEON.

Letter from the Marshal Prince of Eckmuhl to the Major-General.

Thorn, Jan. 8.

My Lord,—I read with astonishment, in the St. Petersburgh papers, that on the day of the 16th November, the enemy took 12,000 prisoners from my corps d'armée, and that they had scattered the remains of that army in the neighbouring woods, in such manner, that it was entirely destroyed. It would be difficult to push impudence and falsehood farther, if all the Russian statements since the commencement of the campaign, and in the preceding ones, were not already known. Did they not sing Te Deum at Petersburgh; and were not ribands distributed there for the battle of Austerlitz? Did they not say that they had taken 100 pieces of cannon from us at the battle of the Moskwa; and did they not again, on that occasion, chant the Te Deum which filled England with joy? How many difficulties did they not raise in acknowledging the taking of Moscow? Did they not likewise proclaim themselves conquerors at the battle of Maloyaroslavetz, where we pursued them for the space of 40 wersts?-The fact is, that his Majesty, knowing that the Russian army from Volhynia was marching towards the Beresina, was obliged to set out from Smolensk, notwithstanding the rigour of the season. a sudden change in the temperature, the cold, which was but six degrees, advanced to 20, and even for a moment to 25, 2 cording to some of our engineer officers

who ha and ou Majesty gageme even wi by pett speed t passed back th tween 1 As soon his Maj corps w self in enemy v merous corps n beat hin from fat caused a to peris disperse of the co Exceller my losse able, an of his M

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who had a thermometer. All our horses, and our train of artillery, perished. His Majesty no longer wished to come to an engagement with the enemy; he no longer even wished to allow himself to be amused by petty affairs, desiring to gain with all speed the Beresina. When His Majesty passed through Krasnoy, he had to drive back the enemy, who placed himself between the guard and my corps d'armée. As soon as my corps had rejoined the army, his Majesty continued his march, and my corps was to follow, without employing itself in maintaining a contest in which the enemy would have the advantage of a nu-But my merous cavalry and artillery. corps never met the enemy that it did not beat him. It has suffered very heavy losses, from fatigues, cold, and that fatality which caused all the cavalry and artillery horses to perish. A great number of my men dispersed, to seek refuge against the rigour of the cold, and many were taken.-Excellency knows that I do not dissemble my losses; they are undoubtedly considerable, and fill me with grief; but the glory of his Majesty's arms has not for a moment been compromised.

(Signed) The Marshal Duke of AUERSTADT, Prince of ECKMUHL.

Letter from the Marshal Duke of Elchingen to the Major-General.

Elbing, Jan. 10. Monseigneur, - I have read in the Petersburgh Gazettes, that on the 17th of Nov. ent a flag of truce and laid down their arms; that I saved myself. alone and wounded, by passing the Borysthenes over the ice. I cannot believe that the General of the Russian army could, in his reports, have given place to such untruth; and although I knew the little confidence which in Europe is paid to these reports from Rusian Gazettes, constantly discredited by the absurdity of their tales, I nevertheless ake the liberty of writing to your Excellency, and I entreat you to have my letter printed, to give a formal contradiction to the statement, that my corps laid down its rms, and that I alone passed beyond the Very far from that, on the 17th of November, I alone sustained all the enemy's efforts. I had at that moment but 8,000 men under my orders, and in conseuence of the unfortunate circumstances in which we were, I had no artillery. The memy had a numerous one. I halted all ay. I then discovered that it was not the same infantry, for they several times attacked me, and notwithstanding their great superiority of number, could make no impression. At 10 P. M. a Colonel, with a flag of truce, was sent to propose I should surrender; to this impertinence I replied, by making the officer prisoner, and carrying him to the other side of the Dnieper, to which I made my troops repass, and I the next day conducted him to the headquarters of his Majesty, at Orcha; when I arrived there with my corps, I scarcely wanted 500 men, who were killed in the battle of the preceding day .--All the Russian reports are romances. There is nothing true in what they say, excepting the loss of my artillery; and your Highness knows that it was not in human power to bring it away in the midst of frosts, and over the ice, all my horses having fallen under the fatal mortality occasioned by the rigour of the cold. During the whole course of the campaign the Russians have not taken. either from me or my comrades, a single piece of cannon in the face of their enemy; although it is true, that when our drafthorses fell dead with the cold, we were obliged to break our artillery, and leave it behind us. To hear these reports from St. Petersburgh, it must appear that we were all cowards, who could not choose but fly before the terrible Russian legions! It is true, that, according to their statement, we likewise fled at the battle of Moscow. and that they pushed us to the distance of 16 wersts from the field of battle; consequently it must have been in our flight that we occupied Moscow. - The Spring will do us justice for all these vain-glorious boastings. The Russians will every where find the men of Austerlitz, of Eylau, of Friedland, of Witepsk, of Smolensko, of the Moskwa, and of the Beresina.

(Signed) The Marshal Duke of ELCHINGEN.

#### FRENCH DYNASTY.

Conservative Senate, Sitting of Feb. 2.

The sitting was opened at two o'clock, P. M. under the Presidency of His Serene Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire. Their Excellencies Counts Regnaud de St. Jeas d'Angely and Disemon, Ministers of State and Counsellors of State were introduced.—His Serene Highness the Prince Archchancellor spoke

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Majesty has ordained that you should present him with a projet relative to the Regency. This part of our institution not having yet been able to obtain such a degree of perfection, as the laws received by time, it has appeared useful to add more extended dispositions to those already existing, and at the same time the necessity has been felt of reviving the usages in our constitutional annals, founded on the ancient manners of the nation. Thus, the plan which is submitted to you, will reestablish in its full latitude the uncontested right of the Sovereign to settle the Regency. -At all events it will prevent an excess of precaution, by arbitrarily restraining the powers of this said Regency from denaturalizing the issue of the Monarchial Government .- If the Emperor had not manifested his will, the Regency would, by course of right, appertain to the Empress. -Whatever the heart and understanding can suggest in such matter, with regard to private families, ought to apply to the great family of the state. None can have a greater degree of zeal than the Empress Mother, for preserving the authority of her charge free from all attempts. No one can, like her, present to the imagination of the people the imposing and proper remem-brances, so as to render obedience noble and easy. A system of exclusion would constrain the choice of the Monarch. Prohibitory laws, by the restraint which they impose, frequently contain the seeds of dis--In defect of the Empress, there is an order established, so that there can be no uncertainty concerning the choice of a Regent. In this matter the law, in respecting hereditary rights, has been obliged to enter into all the details of foresight, and to adopt every wise precaution. The least interruption in the exercise of the Sovereign Power, would become a great calamity to the people. - This power, during the minority of the Emperor, is to be exercised in his name, and in his sole behalf, by the Empress Regent, or by the -After them the Council of Re-Regent. gency will concur in the decision of matters of great importance, and fortify their authority with all the weight of public opi--The other articles of the Projet are either drawn from those which I have just announced, or relate to them. - In a

matter so very serious, you will judge, Monsieur, that it will not be sufficient to weigh a few principles. The Legislature extends its views still further, and without aspiring to say every thing, it is a part of its duty to banish at first a number of doubts, and to suffer but few questions to subsist. --- Whatever, Gentlemen, may be the utility of the dispositions on which we call for your suffrages, yet it is pleasing to hope, that according to the order of nature, their application will not occur until a period of time distant and uncertain.-Happy France, if all the Princes of this august Dynasty should not come to the throne until matured by age, animated by glorious examples, and long nourished by the lessons of wisdom!

After this discourse of his Serene Highness Messieurs, the Counsellors of State, presented a Projet of organized Senatus Consultum, and M. Count Regnaud de Saint Jean d'Angely explained its motives.

Motives of the Senatus Consultum on the Regency of the Empire, the Goronation of the Empress, and the Coronation of the Prince Imperial of Rome.

Monseigneur Senators, -To add new guarantees of stability to our institutions, to ensure in every case which experience can indicate, or prudence conceive, the uninterrupted action of government; to look forward with calm reflection on the absence of every interest, in the silence of all the passions, in banishing all sorrows, to the difficulties which embarrass a minority! this is the principal object of the important act which is prescribed to your delibera--The motives which have dictated these dispositions, Gentlemen, are founded in the experience of nations, in the lessons of history, in the traditions of the French Monarchy, in the examples offered in its annals,--It will consequently suffice rather to indicate than develope these motives, and in the hasty picture which I am going to make, I shall follow the methodical manner traced out by the Senatus Consultum.

A Regency of the State has never been (To be continued.)

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